643 644 are paid the Mwamikazi as to her son, hand clappings repeated three times (gukoma mumashyi). After the death of the Mwami (3),

3. Or rather, as the Banyarwanda say, "When he puts on his drum," for it is forbidden to say that the King is dead.

his mother no longer plays any official role.

3. The Sacred Drum

778 173 The origin of the Kalinga is said to go back to Ruganzu Ndoli. While the latter, who was not yet king, was fighting against the Karagwe (Uganda), the Abakongoro of Kivu attacked Ruanda and killed the Mwami Ndahiro Chyamatara, father of Ndoli.

Returning from war, the latter stopped at Busigi (territory of Biumba), where a rich proprietor called Minyaruka presented a magnificent drum to the glorious victor.

778 643 The Kalinga is the very symbol of royalty (4). [89] Hung on

4. The Banyarwanda say, Kalinga ibuze nta Mwami (lit., the drum was burned, there is no King). This proverb must not be taken literally for, on the other hand, the people of Ruanda say, Hagum'Umwami ingoma irabazwa, (lit., find the King (important thing), the drum (unimportant thing is only wood). [89]

its stretched cords are the ibikondo, virile attributes of the principal enemies vanquished and killed by the kings of Ruanda. It is also [787] regularly sprinkled with the blood of victims sacrificed on occasions for auguries. Truly royal honors are given to the Kalinga; it is not made to resound but the other drums sound in its honor (1). It is

1. Kulamutza, "to salute (the king)." The drums are beaten every morning when the king leaves his apartments to begin his day as a public person.

778 643 placed in the hut called rwimiringa (lit., house of copper objects (2),

2. Kalinga means "royal drum"; Karinga means "small copper object."

[727] built inside the king's boma, where the war trophies are kept. The Kalinga is guarded night and day, for it is the emblem of the grandeur of the kings of Ruanda.

4. The Court of the Mwami

644 At Nyanza, the royal residence (ibgami), flocks of people of every rank come to attend court or to inform the Mwami of the affairs of their region: Bahutu or even Batwa villagers hoping to obtain some benefit from the Mwami or his mother, dignitaries of various ranks and functions, and servants of both sexes (3).

[114]

3. These duties and functions have been minutely described by the Rev. Father Pages in his fine book, Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique [A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa] (ed. I.R.C.B. [Institut Royal Colonial Belge], Brussels, 1933). This work constitutes a veritable and priceless monument for the knowledge of Ruanda and its people. We cannot do better than suggest that the reader refer to it for everything concerning the organization of the Royal Court.

5. The Council of Ministers

645 787 In serious circumstances, such as war or famine, the Mwami is obliged to convene the great chiefs (abatware b'intebe) in council (inima). The soothsayers (abapfuma) then consult the oracles and

342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug,
or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork
is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a
[288] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks.
The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in
Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between
three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape,
but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a
cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4,
[343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts
in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has
its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her
own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried
women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies.
However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for
343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle
(uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The
[251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom,
and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat,
conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All
this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut
346 yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts
●178 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and
[782] reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce
of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp.
[776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is
dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees
many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than
in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from
356 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in
342 the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage
[514] next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding
the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever
they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

232 and as a result the devastations caused among the cattle by a
731 single epidemic are terrible. Thus, the rinderpest that ravaged the entire interlacustrine region, as well as Uganda and Unjoro, in 1888 killed two thirds of all the cattle, and since the Bahima live mainly on milk, blood, and meat, it is reported that almost two thirds of the Bahima also died of hunger (No. 17, Vol. II, p. 626).

Although the Barundi take good care of their cattle, they
232 cannot really be called good cattle breeders, as is sometimes done. The same is true for the Banjaruanda. The livestock suffers from an insufficient supply of new blood, that is, from the centuries-old inbreeding. It is true that the Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda, always select the breeding steers from a different herd in order to prevent degeneration, but there is still only variation within the same long-horned strain of cattle [44] and the blood is not freshened up by other breeds. Since also most of the bulls are not castrated, although castration is known and a special term exists for it (kuschahura), there are often weak bulls in the herds which cause the breed to deteriorate. The improvement of the breeds is not helped either by the fact that, as a result of the growing demand for cattle hides by traders, more bulls are raised which in former times used to be slaughtered or sacrificed when they were still young. Degeneration is especially apparent from the fact that there are a great number of sterile cows, both in Urundi and Ruanda. They can be immediately recognized in a herd since they have the longest horns. It almost appears as if the excess of strength which has not been spent on reproduction is channeled into making the horns grow to a gigantic size. Both in Urundi and Ruanda only the herds of the kings and of the high batwale are in really good condition as a result of constant selection and exchange. There are white, brown, and dappled herds. However, these are deluxe herds and not representative of the general run.

232 The designation, "holy cattle," which is often heard applied
778 to the king's herds, is as incorrect as it is when applied to the herds of the Musinga [king] of Ruanda. It is also erroneous in that not even the animals destined for sacrifice are taken from these herds. On the other hand there are holy cattle kept

232 especially for sacrifice and for their function at the election
778 of the king, and there are others dedicated to one of the principal gods, Imana, Riangombe, Rikiranga (see p. 68 , also p. 184 of original text [not translated]).

When a calf is born, it is rubbed with butter. As soon
233 as the horns appear, the owner tears off the covering epidermis with his teeth and rubs the little horns with butter so as to make them grow well. The calf is then given a name which is de-
[552] termined by its parentage, color, or some other characteristic, or in memory of some deceased member of the family, a chief, king, etc. The calves are put in the pen for six months before being sent to pasture, and after that the young cattle graze in a separate pasture. In the morning and in the evening, before the milking of the cows, the calves are permitted to suck. If a cow refuses to suckle her calf, both her udder and the calf are rubbed with salt water, whereupon the cow will lick the calf and will also allow it to lick and to suck her udder. In order to wean a calf, the cow's teats are smeared with cow dung (No. 19, p. 423).

234 Before a cow is milked (kukamma), the calf is permitted to suck for a few moments. Then the Murundi squats down near the udder, holding a vessel under it with his left hand and milking with his right hand. In this process a considerable amount of milk (amata) is spilled on the ground since the vessel has a narrow opening. An unruly cow or one that kicks has her legs tied together while being milked. If the calf dies or is slaughtered, the cow gives no more milk. In this case, to make her continue to produce milk, the skin of her calf stuffed with straw or simply a piece of the hide suspended on a stick is held in front of her nose (No. 22, p. 287; No. 48, p. 141; No. 27, p. 95). This is also true in Ruanda, Ankole, and the other Bahima regions. This artless yet useful deception usually tricks the cows, and they lick the hide and continue to give milk. The amount of milk produced by the long-horned cattle is quite small all over the interlacustrine region. It is seldom more than two to three liters daily, in
234 the morning and in the evening. The milk pails (itschjansi)
415 are always made of wood; in most cases they have a cylindrical shape and a rounded lid. Van der Burgt claims that [45] this

533 on for hours. The drum concert and drum dance are hardly
535 ever accompanied by singing (No. 19, p. 388).

In Urundi and Ruanda drums are such a rarity that an
534 experienced observer wrote as recently as 1901: "In Urundi drums are unknown" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 212). During my own two months' journey through central Urundi, I never heard a single drumbeat. This can be explained easily by the fact that there remain only a few small areas in this country where trees still exist that are large enough to make drums (and boats). It is probably because of
534 their high value that the possession of drums has become a
554 privilege of chiefs and of the king. Neither the "people" of
778 the Barundi (Bahutu or Batussi) nor the Batwa are permitted to own drums. A special role is reserved for the king's drum. This drum, in addition to the spear, the finger ring or bracelet (wrist disc), and the holy wooden milk vessels, is part of the royal insignia which the ruler bequeaths to his successor (No. 19, p. 524). This "holy" drum is a kind of Palladium of the realm and, as such, it is given the name akarjenda. It is very big and made from the wood of a special tree. This drum is regarded as the seat of the protective spirit of the realm, and solemn vows are made by this "drum spirit" akarjenda (No. 19, p. 388). Special guards are charged with taking care of [70] this royal drum (see p. 187 [not translated]). It is always kept at the residence of the king and, together with the holy spears and the holy milk vessels, it also accompanies him on his trips (report by Captain von Langenn). The hides used for the holy drums [sic] are taken exclusively from the cattle of the so-called "holy herd" (see p. 44).

533 Neither van der Burgt nor any other observer reports having heard of the combination of several drums and other instruments to form an orchestra, but natives assured me that such an orchestra existed at the royal court and that it consisted of Batwa. I consider this very likely since there is such an orchestra, a combination of several differently tuned drums and flutes, at the residence of Musinga, king of Ruanda. The members of the orchestra are Batwa. It sounds very melodious

776 or Mugascha is worshipped as a god of streams and of rain in
177 Uganda ("Mukessa," see Anthropos III, p. 214), in Ankole, Kisiba, Karagwe (Lake Mugascha), Kissaka, and Ussuwi. According to the tradition of the Basiba, he was a former king of the Sese Islands in the northern part of Lake Victoria (No. 31, p. 128; No. 27, p. 110; No. 34, pp. 518-519). Wamara is worshipped in Ankole and in Kisiba as the spirit of the dead souls. According to Banjankole tradition, he was a king of the Batschwesi in Baera (Uganda) who were a Hamitic people different from the Bahima, and he conquered Ankole. According to Rehse, he was "formerly a great ruler to whom the nations from Nyanza to the Congo State owed allegiance" (No. 31, pp. 126-127; No. 34, p. 520). Kagoro is regarded in Kisiba as a grandchild of Wamara (No. 31, p. 133). Rugaba or Lugaba, who is worshipped as the creator of man and cattle in Kisiba and in Ankole (No. 27, p. 108), was, according to van der Burgt, "the oldest king of the Wahinda" (No. 19, p. 219). Rehse writes of the gods of the Basiba that "the description of this world of spirits would at the same time represent the oldest history of Kisiba as well as that of all the central African countries." This also applies to the hero-gods of the Barundi. It would be a rewarding task to study these religious sources, especially for missionaries!

776 The Basiba worship a supreme god named Rugaba as the creator of the world and the highest giver of grace, but they never offer sacrifices to him (No. 31, p. 125). In the same manner the Barundi and Banjaruanda (No. 28, pp. 1-13) worship Imana. He is never offered sacrifices or prayers, as an unapproachable supreme being. People prefer to turn to gods who are closer to human beings, who have once been human beings themselves, like Riangombe, Kiranga, Wamara, and others. Although he is conceived of as the personified creator and ruler of the world, Imana is the only one in the abode of the gods of the Barundi whose name is sometimes used as a
776 general term for the world of the spirits. Imana is simply "the
778 divine," "the godhead." Imana is also the term for all that is sacred to the Murundi: the sacred trees, the sacred steer, the

776 king, the amulets, the oracle animals, the sacred spear, etc.
[778] (No. 19, p. 214). The same applies to Ruanda (No. 44, pp. 284; No. 39, pp. 102, 109). Imana is given a number of different names or is identified with other gods, depending on his different characteristics and functions. This is also true in
[551] Ruanda. Children are often given names which contain the word Imana: [121] Kaimana, little Imana; Mbonimana, gift of Imana; Ndorimana, appearance of Imana; Keschimana, ornament of Imana (No. 23, 1913, p. 308). Both men and
[842] women, if they wish to have offspring, wear an impusu y'Imana, a garment of Imana, made of reddish barkcloth with black circles painted on it. Imana is the supreme god of all manes, of all ancestral spirits, and thereby has the character of an old national god.

Although Imana as the sole creator of the world ranks high above the other gods, one nevertheless cannot describe this as a monotheistic concept of the Barundi, as is done by some missionaries (No. 44, p. 283). Nor is it correct to attempt to see a kind of "Trinity" in the fact that, besides Imana, the Barundi have two supreme gods, Rikiranga and Riangombe, whom they often identify or confuse with Imana (No. 19, p. 214). This is to put Christian interpretations on the matter, and these are foreign to the thinking of the Barundi.

It appears that Kiranga or Rikiranga ranks closest to Imana. If Imana is described as the supreme head of the high ancestral spirits, Kiranga is the ruler of all the lesser demons and of all things material. For this reason von der Burgt describes him as a kind of "logos payen" (No. 19, p. 216). He is the god to whom people appeal first for assistance in all worldly matters. It is Kiranga to whom the priestly cult of the crowds is devoted, to him the ceremony of the "sacred spear" is dedicated (see p. 134), and the high priest calls himself Kiranga for he is "possessed" by him, he is his medium (p. 123). To all appearances he is a deity of the old Bantu population and has remained
776 quite free of Batussi influence. The missionaries refer to
778 Kiranga as the "devil" (No. 23, 1904, p. 123). It is said that
793 near Mujaga in central Urundi Kiranga possesses two large herds

776 of cattle led by two sacred steers. He is thought to have a sacred
778 mountain administered by a priestess who wields great influence
793 and is even immune to the power of the king, although the latter keeps her under constant guard so as to insure that she fulfills her cult duties. If she neglects her duties, she and her closest relatives are executed upon the order of the king. Her office, it is said, begins and ends with the reign of the king, for after the king's death she has to take poison.

776 Father Gassldinger describes Kiranga as the "great
782 destroyer," the Lucifer of the Barundi. People appeal to him first in all their afflictions, misery, and fear, and it is to him that most sacrificial huts (akararo) are dedicated. Inside these huts there is, as a rule, a big three-legged earthen pot with three spouts into which the sacrifice is deposited. Besides beer, grain stalks constitute the main sacrificial offerings made in these huts. Horns of cattle are also burned in them as sacrifices (No. 45, 1913, p. 359 ff.).

776 It is characteristic of the confused conception which the Barundi have of the different personalities of their gods and spirits that they often mix up the terms and attribute the names of several gods to a single one of them. For example, one may hear them say: "Riangombe is powerful, he is Kiranga; Kagoro is also Kiranga, he is Sengoga." Kiranga is also called Rugaba, Ruhanga, Inganje, Njabaski, Indagarra, or Rukisa, or these names are used as epithets of Imana, and the word Imana itself is used as a plural concept (No. 45, 1913, p. 363). Among the names listed there are several which we already know, as shown above (p. 120), from other Bahima states as the names of specific gods and spirits. In Urundi their images seem to have faded [122] so much that they are confused with one another, and the concepts people had of them seem to have been reduced to mere attributes or epithets of Imana who in any case has already become a collective term for "sacred" or "divine" rather than a personified god.

Riangombe is third among the gods. He is the supreme head of all good spirits (imandwa) whom Imana entrusted with the task of guiding human beings and protecting them against evil

as the result of a denunciation before the German Resident, the entire kin group of the chief or the umufumu would be bound by law of the vendetta, and they would take terrible vengeance on the family of the "traitor" (No. 45, 1913, pp. 83-84).

Neither the umufumu nor the umubandwa is invited to officiate at the real cult acts of the Barundi people, at "divine services." These are a matter for the priest, the kiranga. Although among the Barundi one's entire life is simply a series of performances to fulfill religious requirements which affect all matters of existence, they nevertheless assign particularly great importance to two rituals. For this reason the kiranga has to officiate at them. One is the ceremony of the "sacred spear," the other is the act of erecting the small huts for ancestors and spirits, ivigabiro, akararo, ivitabo (No. 19, pp. 498-499).

The ceremony of the sacred spear is enacted at all the important events in the life of the Murundi, whenever protection against evil spirits is especially desirable. The father of the family is host at the ceremony and pays the officiating kiranga; relatives, friends, and neighbors act as assistants. The ritual takes place, for example, at the birth of a child, particularly at the birth of twins, if there is a serious sickness in the family, at weddings, joyous celebrations, funerals, etc. (No. 19, p. 516). Thus, it is a ceremony which may be sponsored by any Murundi who is in a position to afford the expense. This is not the cult gathering of the ababandwa, described on p. 124 above, which also takes place under the direction of the kiranga and is of a similar nature, but it is only performed by the secret society of the ababandwa.

Even the ordinary spear of the Murundi is considered sacred in a certain sense since it is the symbol of paternal power and the authority of the ancestors. Consequently the "sacred spear" guarded by the priest is the object of great devotion. In the point of this spear lives the spirit Kiranga, [135] or Indagarra, or Riangombe, depending on whether the spear has been dedicated to one or the other of the spirits. In most cases it is Kiranga. The shape of the spear is like that of any other, but one half of its blade is unpolished and black. If someone

796 expresses the wish that the "ceremony of the sacred spear" be celebrated for his benefit, he invites his friends and the priest (kiranga) of the district along with the latter's spear. The kiranga arrives with two or three male or female assistants (ivisjego), and all the participants in the celebration take their seats in the hut. The priest sits in the middle holding the sacred spear in his hand and wearing a cap made of leopard skin with its tail falling down his back. Each of the assistants holds in his hand a bifurcated branch to whose ends are tied little calabashes, some of which are filled with grains or pebbles. These rattles are shaken in a certain rhythm, and to their accompaniment the entire gathering sings -- in a minor key and andante -- a traditional hymn in the old Kirundi language (see p. 148) which is for the most part unintelligible. The hymn calls on the congregation to praise and glorify the spirits, Kiranga, Rugondo, Riangombe, and others (No. 19, pp. 517 and 292). While they are singing, each person gathers a little straw from the ground and places it as a sacrifice in front of the sacred spear, clapping his hands as a sign of homage, and then directs to the spirit Kiranga, residing in the spear point, a number of requests expressing the wishes of the host. After that the whole party leaves the house with a chant and proceeds to the little spirit hut (ikitabo) close by. Its floor is then covered with fresh straw or grass. After they have returned to the house, the whole gathering is sprinkled with water by the priest (symbol of purification?). At the end all join in drinking the contents of a large jar of "sacrificial beer." This concludes the ceremony, the priest receives his fee (beads, grain, barkcloth, etc.), and everyone goes home. In Ruanda and Uha the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated in a similar fashion (No. 19, p. 518).

796 There is another ritual at which the priest is regularly asked
● 778 to officiate: the ceremony of erecting and consecrating the little
346 spirit and sacrifice huts (Plate 18a). There are two different types of these huts: some are dedicated to the gods, Imana, Kiranga, and Riangombe, and are open to the public (ikitabo, akararo); the others are dedicated to the family ancestors and are private (ikigabiro).

778 [821] The public cult sites used for common worship of the gods are erected wherever lightning has struck the ground, either where it injured or killed a person or a head of cattle or where it has just struck the ground. Lightning is regarded as sent by the god Imana himself (No. 19, p. 253). At such a place a circular piece of ground, two to three meters in diameter, is leveled and covered with straw. Manioc and fig branches are planted around it. Then, celebrating the ceremony of the sacred spear, the kiranga plants in the middle of it a shoot from a banana or a fig tree which is regarded as the temporary residence of the god, Imana-Rikiranga-Riangombe. uEvery passerby [782] puts a little tuft of dry grass in front of the young tree in homage to the god (see grass greeting, p. 95). Sick people are brought to this site so that they may ask the god to grant them recovery (No. 19, p. 564). This kind of homage is also supposed to be helpful when asking for rain for the fields and herds. Usually [346] some small grass huts are also erected at or near the sacrificial site; in these huts food and drink are sacrificed to the god. Often, however, such huts are absent.

778 346 782 [136] The second type of cult and sacrifice huts at whose consecration the kiranga must participate is the private sacrifice huts (ivigabiro), dedicated to the spirits of the dead (imisimu or abasimu). Often, however, a sacrifice is also offered to the god Kiranga in one of these little private huts; it is then called akararo ka rugabo, i.e., the great master's humble quarters for the night (No. 46, p. 18). These little huts are erected inside the kraal next to the residential huts. In most cases their shape resembles that of the residential huts, but they are only one half to one meter high (Plate 18a). They are always constructed in a careless fashion. In fact, often a few branches or some bundles of straw or reed, inserted in the ground and tied together at the top in the shape of an arch, are considered sufficient. A little straw is spread underneath, and on it a few implements are placed as a sacrificial offering, for example, a piece of imanga wood which is used for amulets, a piece of bottle gourd, shaped like a bowl, which is used as a container for food, an old pot as a receptacle for beer, an old tobacco pipe, etc. In some areas of Urundi, for example, in

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

778 The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
782 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
796 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
769 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the ancestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

769 According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
782 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
778 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
775 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

778 The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned, the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of [784] residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the [825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket, [775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

532 The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
776 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

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Sacred Grove (Imana) in Central Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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797

Church at the Mujaga Missionary Station, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[467] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[778] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

128 common to the three ethnic groups which make up the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ nation, or peculiar to one group or another.

Chapter 1.

644 231 778 I. Posts and Offices of a Historical and Superstitious Nature.
The Keepers of the Customs and Traditions.
The "King" of the First Fruits and the "King" of the Imandwa.

1. Maintenance at court of a dog-faced baboon and a sacred bull.

It will be recalled that according to legend, when the enemies of Ruganzu II the Victorious attempted to smoke him out of a cave, /356/ he was saved by dog-faced baboons (inguge), who led him through subterranean tunnels to another exit. One of those animals is kept at the capital in order to commemorate this fantastic legend.

The clan in charge of caring for the animal is known under the name of Abanyamuheno, that is to say, "Men of the Cave, " in memory of the event.

The monkey, tied with a chain, is fed by his keepers with sweet potatoes, beans, grains, sorghum stalks, etc.

When he gets old he is released in the forest where he was captured when young, and another monkey is sought out to replace him.

Is not this custom reminiscent of honored practices at the court of the Pharaohs, where dog-faced baboons were also raised?

[233] Ruanda is a land of pastures. The Batutsi possess numerous herds of cattle which are, rightly enough, the pride and joy of their owners.

It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that aside from the sacred herds that will be mentioned in the last chapter but one of this book there is a bull at court that is the object of special care and attentions.

644 231 778 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).

The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits. [769 782] The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here," he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

[773] In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

[262] [766] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

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778 inyambo. The individual who is placed in charge of Rusanga is called /358/ Nkwaya and belongs to the Banyiginya clan. This is a position of trust.

The insanga are well known by the inhabitants of the capital.

2. The chief of protocol and the "king" of the first fruits.

644 There exists a complicated ceremonial and a series of rites whose teaching would soon be lost if their preservation were not entrusted to a group of personages who supervise their observance scrupulously at the monarch's side. They do not fail to call him to order occasionally on this score.

The most important of those directors of protocol, or masters of ceremony, is unquestionably the chief of the Batsobe clan. His is a select position by the side of the sovereign, whom he counsels and directs in those matters which are within his competence. His name will come up again in the pages that follow (1).

> 1. The Batsobe played an exalted role in the Ruchunchu coup d'état. As a reward, the spoils of the vanquished were distributed among them. Their major fees are the Bumbogo, Luhanga, Bussigi, etc.

Under the ultimate supervision of this high dignitary, one family is in charge of cultivating in the sacred land of Bumbogo the sorghum and eleusine which are later brought to court for the yearly "first-fruits festival." We shall speak of this later when we discuss festivals.

The head of this family is sometimes called "king of the first fruits" (umwami w'umuganura). The father and founder of the Batsobe clan, as we have already mentioned, was raised to noble rank and brought into Ruanda by the Hamitic king, Ruganzu II, as a result of the latter's expedition into Bugara lands, north of the Mulera, against the petty king Nzira, son of Mulamira. In connivance with his mother, the ancestor of the Batsobe had sheltered the disguised

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen [778 372] from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

774 4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda). 173 This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

[769] This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are recruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

644 634 641 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises, the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain the latter's approval.

644 778 [534] 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it [402] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock, and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails "turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

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1. They are among others Kanyoni, son of Gatibamenya, and Rubunda, princes of the Ndorwa area; Nyagaketchuru, the woman chief who governed part of Huyi in the Nyaruguru; Mutaga, the king of Urundi who was killed under the reign of Mutara I; Nyirabihoro, another princess from the neighborhood of Uswi; Kabego, king of the isle of Idjwi (in Lake Kivu), and his son Nkundiye.

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This drum is jealously guarded within the enclosure of the royal palace, on the east side in a hut called by the name of imilinga, that is to say, "copper objects."

This term is both metaphorical and euphemistic, and well understood by the people. It is metaphorical so as not to draw the attention of enemies upon the function of the hut, and it is also euphemistic so as to remind the courtiers of the importance of this palladium, which is likened thereby, to the copper threads and bracelets formerly regarded by the Banyarwanda as precious objects. The same hut serves as museum and repository. It also shelters the other royal drums which played a role in the past, before the Kalinga, in its stead, or along with it. /373/

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These drums bear characteristic names. Perhaps they should be regarded merely as symbols or trophies, reminders of victories won in the past by the Hamitic kings over the autochthonous princes. The latter's lands and drums went from their hands into those of the Batutsi monarchs.

The hut also encloses enormous quivers (imitana), arrows, spears, and other weapons of varied shapes and sizes. A certain element of taste must have presided over the selection of this booty, for people who have managed to see them say that the objects in the collection are almost invariably characterized by a certain richness, a great deal of originality, and fairly careful craftsmanship.

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
[202] /374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
533 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
644 hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated
[614] to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

644 6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
814 name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

644 5. In certain cases and where certain objects are concerned, the king must help himself directly. When he wishes to play the drum, as he is wont to do, his followers set the sticks on the ground before him instead of offering them to him spontaneously. The prince picks them up himself.

To hand them over to him, which to us seems so simple, might cause him to die (gukenya).

644 272 [415] 6. It is for the same reason that the servants entrusted with keeping the milk in the famous "hut that devours its inhabitants" (ikiryana) observe the same custom. Two or three large bowls full of milk are brought into the hut where the king is served. They are carefully closed with a lid woven of vegetable fiber.

Small wooden vessels known by the name of ichyantsi (plural ibyantsi) are laid before His Majesty. Whether there are two, four, or even eight of them, they must be immaculately clean. The servant fills a first container, which the king picks up himself without any help.

If the milk pleases him he goes on drinking, but he is careful not to finish it.

He must leave half of it, lest milk become scarce (ngw'amata atagabanuka) in the realm. Meanwhile, the servant fills another vessel, which the king picks up himself as he did the first one.

The first one is filled again. This table service continues until the king's hunger is satisfied.

644 7. Custom demands that when appearing at court one should clap one's hands three times (gukom'amashi) and use the customary formulas, with the sole addition of "king" (umwami) or "Sire" (Nyagasani). This is about the only external mark of respect reserved for the sovereign. /494/

644 293 8. At night the king must never be without the native hammer called Nyarushara. This tool goes with him on all his journeys.

412 It is left under the fine grass which serves as the monarch's bolster and pillow (barayisegurir' umwami).

778 It is a sort of ancient talisman which theoretically has not yet lost any of its mystic power. It was wrought according to the specifications of Mashira, the sorcerer-petty king, by an able

644 blacksmith, Gihu, son of Muhinda, on the hill of Mpanda (mu Buhigiro,
293 i Kizibaziba) in the Nduga. This was done to enable the Hamitic
412 king with whom this autochthonous prince had concluded an alliance
778 to turn back the Banyoro who had invaded Ruanda. The hammer, which is octogonal in shape (imigong' umunane), symbolized an all-powerful symbolic being. The artisan, on Mashira's specifications, had wrought two breasts upon it (1). Mutabazi, the monarch's son,

> 1. Such details demonstrate the importance attached to this fearsome mystic weapon. Nothing has been forgotten concerning the circumstances of its manufacture, the date, the place, the artisan, the man who inspired the project, etc.

only had to sit down and hold upon his knees the "dreadful" magic device, pointed facing the enemy, for the latter to be hewed to pieces.

Two other small hammers with the same origin and which played the same role are laid beside the Nyarushara. They are known by the name of ubushingo or abagaragu bayo, that is to say, its "companions." Every morning at about nine, when the drum called Ndamutsa ("I greet") is played to proclaim the rising and appearance of the monarch, the latter must touch the talisman hammer as if the day's luck depended upon it.

9. Inyundo ya Barenge, "the hammer of the Barenge people."

It is not known exactly why the hammer thus named is kept at court. /495/

Does it really belong to the Barenge, who lived in the country several centuries ago? This is hard to say. Since it is very heavy and weighs two or three times as much as an ordinary hammer, the king's laborers sometimes use it as a mallet to drive stakes (imiganda) into rocky ground (1).

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1. The existence of stones shaped like hammers has given rise to several tales.

The Banyarwanda formerly believed that the vault of heaven was a sort of rocky crust (urutare).

This is why in the legend of Kigwa they explain the fall of the first Hamitic king and his settlement in Ruanda in the following way. "Kigwa," they say, "being in the sky, wished to know what there was in the land below.

"Taking a hammer, he dealt repeated blows to the celestial vault. A small opening was made and the hammer fell out of his hand and down to the Mulera, at the spot called Gifuna. He attempted to enlarge the hole with a second hammer. He struck with such violence that the vault caved in under him. Kigwa fell from the sky but arose safe and sound in the sacred land of the Buhanga on the Muko plain. The hammer sank into the ground near Ntenyo, at the place called Nyundo ("hammer").

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"This one may still be seen," add the Blacks. A stone lies at that spot which looks from afar like a native hammer.

The natives lavish upon it a superstitious worship mingled with fear. No one may touch it. Should a sacrilegious hand attempt

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to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

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It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

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It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

Sacred Cows

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The idea for this select group is traced back to Ruganzu. These special herds are known as inyambo, or long-horned cattle, and they are always selected among the finest in the land. They are not all of the same color.

Among other hues, the following predominate: dusty red (ibihogo by' issine), purplish red (ibihogo by' igaju), red speckled with white (ibihogo by' imyeru), and black and white, which are all favorite colors of the Batutsi.

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Special cowherds are in charge of watching over those herds, which usually graze in the Buganza.

They are led to the capital for festivals or public celebrations. The finest animals, known as inyamibga or indatwa /510/ (from the word kurata, "to show off"), lead the herd.

There is usually only one or two of these in each herd, and they are accustomed to walking ahead of the others. Their horns, brow, and neck are covered with rows of beads and small antelope horns which serve as ornaments (imitako n' imiheha). Also included are stems of the sacrosanct umwishwa grass, which the cowherds also wear on chest and head on numerous occasions. Then special dances take place which are organized by the keepers of the herd or even by the Batwa and in which the animals participate with their mooing.

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The cows are quite familiar with this kind of sport, and they seem to take an interest in it and watch the motions of the dancers. The latter emit special guttural cries all the while, in order to excite the animals further.

Performances of this sort are highly esteemed by the Banyarwanda and attract large crowds.

After the celebration the sacred cows return to their Buganza pastures. Their keepers treat them with great care and are the only ones permitted to milk them, just as they are the only ones to drink their milk.

The calves are gorged with milk and weaned quite late.

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Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat animals who died a natural death, they are strictly forbidden

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778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

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543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

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543 Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

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1. This expression "big hill" is readily understood by the natives, because it serves to designate the spot where a reigning monarch drew his last breath.

sacred groves (2) reserved for royal tombs by custom or tradition.

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2. We owe the reader an explanation of the expression "sacred grove, " which will recur frequently, The word "sacred" is taken here in a broad and technical sense to mean that these groves are set aside and closed to laymen, who may not enter them. They are guarded by official watchmen, who see to it that the grounds are properly respected.

The Banyamugogo, who become the temporary masters of the area, have a large hut built and enlist for its construction the services of neighboring people.

There the remains of the sovereign are sheltered and laid upon a grid in the middle of the hut, about 1. 50 meters above ground. The members of the corporation keep a fire burning under the grid for several days in order to dry out the corpse and prevent it from putrefying.

The body, which lies on a bed of skins, is constantly moved so that the heat from the fire may reach all its parts. /518/

The keepers of the hut take turns without interruption, day and night, by the fire they must maintain. Meanwhile, no layman may come near the place under penalty of death.

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The undertakers keep up their work until, according to popular belief, the corpse gives birth to a leopard, which is at first

643 765 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might [689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

[731] A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

766 778 Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe, [824] the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa), and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

766 The sacred groves are numerous, and it is surprising to find
778 them most everywhere, even in the most deserted areas.

Royal cemeteries and former residences are legion. There is
778 not one province in Ruanda that does not boast several of them at
766 least.

They are found even in bordering lands which were invaded
644 more than once by the Banyarwanda. Their numbers are understandable if one recalls the nomadic life of the warrior kings such as Ruganzu and Lwabugiri, who did not sleep often under the same roof. The sovereign had only to spend the night in a hut along the way for the spot to become sacred from then on. The owners had to abandon their dwelling and go elsewhere or build at the side. The ficus branches which fenced in the courtyard went on growing and created a new sacred grove (ikigabiro).

These groves are made up of various tree species, with the
[894] ficus usually predominating. Several types of this tree are found: imigobge, imilehe, imikobe, imitabataba, etc.

The bark of the last two trees is used to make a kind of cloth
[287] which wears out rapidly (impuzu). Those clumps of trees, which are almost invariably green and which loom into sight here and there, contrast with the bareness of the land, /524/ especially in the Nduga, and lend it a characteristic appearance which does not lack a certain charm.

Among the sacred groves, some of which stand on the tallest hills, only eight or nine at most are known to have been used as royal burial grounds. The others mark the sites of former royal capitals and recall the successive moves occasioned by the numerous expeditions undertaken in certain reigns. They are referred to by the generic name of ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," from the word kugabira, "to distribute" or "to offer as a gift." As we can see, the term ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," is quite suited etymologically to the tree clumps which mark the sites of the former royal dwellings, whose owners, by virtue of their absolute ownership and power, could mete out all sorts of favors to their subjects. It was only by extension that the same name was quite wrongly applied to the royal cemeteries. Indeed, custom does not allow the popular

778 and common terms ikibira, "cemetery," imva or "igituro, "grave," 766 to be used in this connection. In certain parts of Ruanda, owing to 644 the respect with which the king is regarded and to the reverential fear he inspires, the Blacks use another expression which is much more accurate. One frequently hears them speak of musezero (misezero in the plural), that is to say, the place where the monarch permanently "took leave" of his subjects, from the verb gusezera, which means "to take leave."

The word umusezero is now commonly used to mean "restricted place," "guarded place," because in summer when people set fire to the tall grass, they first clear the bush from the edges of the cemeteries to protect the royal graves from fire. /525/

2. Main Royal Cemeteries

766 It is at Gasseke in the Nduga, about four hours from the Kabgayi mission in the northeast, that one of the first "sepulchral" groves is found where a prince by the name of Chyilima was buried.

173 Two monarchs by this name are known. It was during the reign of the more recent of the two that the famous migration into 643 Ruanda of the "Mutes," or "Foreign men with an incomprehensible 766 language," took place. According to tradition, the one with whom 778 we are dealing here was the brother and immediate successor of Ruganzu I, surnamed Bwimba (1), who lived long before his illustrious

1. The natives relate that the mother of this Ruganzu late in life married one of her courtiers named Chenge, and Chyilima-Rugwe was born of this union. She did this to the great dissatisfaction of her eldest son, Ruganzu I, for it ran contrary to the custom which requires the queen mother to live solely with the reigning prince.

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The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [175] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit...and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

173 643 766 778 As for the royal cemetery of Luhanga, which lies atop the plateau of the same name, the inhabitants of the area all concur in the belief that if King Gihanga himself was not buried there, that is to say, the eminent "Creator," then at least his wife Nyirakabogo was. It is probable that numerous other monarchs sleep their last sleep there by the queen's side, but the people are not quite sure of their names anymore.

Nor are they sure of the names of those who were buried on the neighboring Kayenzi-Bussigi plateau, where four of those cemeteries are to be found.

The names of the princes buried in the northern most cemetery are better known. The inhabitants of the area are almost unanimous in naming Kigeri-Mibambge and Nyiramavugo as being buried there. During the last European war, which had local repercussions, the natives were rightly frightened and erected huts (indaro) over their tombs where they offered numerous sacrifices. As for Queen Nyiramavugo, the elders recall seeing her corpse go by in their earliest childhood. /527/ The body was laid at the foot of the plateau for the night before being carried to the top where it was buried. This was the mother of Lwogera-Mutara, that is to say, the grandmother of the present king.

Malembo, daughter of Nyamajinya and mother of Yuhi-Mazimpaka, was buried on one or the other of the two plateaus, it is not known exactly which. One still hears of Yuhi-Mazimpaka himself and of a sister of Ruganzu, Nyirangabo, who, according to the natives, were buried in the afore-mentioned cemeteries. What is certain is that the grove which follows upon the first one starting from the north holds the remains of Kilongoro, daughter of a certain Magoma and mother of Chyilima-Ludjugira, who succeeded Yuhi-Mazimpaka.

According to present-day opinion, the sacred groves of Luhanga and Kayenzi-Bussigi are reserved exclusively for the burial of queen mothers (abanyambuto, "those of the grains"), that is to say, [562] those who provided the heir to the throne and who reigned along with him.

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The best known of the royal cemeteries is that of Rutare in the mountainous Buyaga area, not far from Lake Mohazi near the frontier of Ruanda.

The existence of this resting place is traced back, rightly or wrongly, to Ruganzu II, who is said to have been the first one to be buried there.

According to one tradition, he had himself chosen the site of his tomb on this high spot, so as to be an insuperable obstacle to the enemies of Ruanda even after his death. This tradition is seriously challenged by the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga (1).

1. Cf. Book III, The Reign of Ruganzu II.

The last two kings who were buried there and who are recalled most readily were Lwogera and Lwabugiri, the immediate predecessors of the present reigning monarch.

It is rather difficult to say for how many monarchs the sepulchral grove of Rutare has served as last resting place. /528/ The trees in the thickets, some of which are quite old, were formerly separate but eventually merged. Here and there, old trunks which marked the site of the courtyards in which the huts were built have disappeared, so that one cannot count the funerery enclosures with any exactitude. There do not seem to be more than eight or ten.

Three other royal cemeteries are found at Musenyi in the Nduga to the south of the Kabgayi mission, about two hours away. The first one stands on the slope of a hill called by the name of Mayebe. It is made up of a small wood of thorny acacia trees which have reached their maximum height and whose long intertwined branches lend a mysterious atmosphere to the grove, where a half light barely penetrates. Some other trees with thicker foliage dominate the grove. Those are the inganzamarombo (1).

[231]

1. They are called thus from kuganza, "to overtop," and marombo, "swarms of bees," because the natives like to set their hives there.

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A native village stands nearby, its banana groves bordering on the thickets. Its occupants are in charge of watching over the cemetery, which according to the opinion of the Banya-Nduga (inhabitants of the Nduga province) includes the tomb of Ruganzu II Ndori. Those who claim that his body was buried at Rutare cling to their opinion and insist that he was merely "smoked" at Mayebe. The inhabitants of the latter area, on the other hand, claim in turn that after having been mummified he was indeed buried right there, and add that this is the usual procedure. The place is quite commonly known by the name of "Ruganzu's cemetery."

According to the same interpretation, this prince alone was buried there.

Not far from Mayebe, two other small groves made up chiefly of ficus trees stand barely 300 meters apart. /529/ According to some, the corpses of several queens by the name of Nyirakigeri and Nyirayuhi were mummified there. Local people insist that they were also buried there, and support their claim by adding that the place where a king or queen is smoked is also the place where they are buried. The two clumps of trees formerly made up a single sacred grove, and this is why the natives call them by the same name.

The last of those cemeteries stands two kilometers farther. It is made up of handsome ficus trees, but the same controversies arise concerning the use to which this funeral site was put. It is called "the cemetery of the queens who bore the name of Nyiramavugo."

[123] It is not easy to give precise information on this subject. The keepers of the groves, the undertakers (abanyamugogo), and the official chroniclers (Abachur' ubgenge) are not willing to surrender all their information on the subject. The statements of other people are unreliable.

Funerary enclosures called ilaro (amalaro in the plural), or "night stopping places," are also found in the area.

They mark the sites of huts which served as shelters for the mortal remains of kings and queens in transit to the cemeteries.

The dwellings had to be abandoned after their visit, just as happens when a prince travelling through his realm stops for the night.

173 The term gisozi ("big hill") serves, as we have said, to
643 designate the place where a king died.

It is the augmentative of the word musozi, which means "hill"
766 and by extension "village." This term belongs to the /word/ class
778 prefixed by the consonant ki.

This class includes nothing but words conveying the idea of majesty, fear, etc. /530/

There are numerous groves in this category, such as those of Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

In order to prove the truth of any pronouncement or assertion, the natives use the following phrase which alludes in metaphorical terms to the death of one or another of their sovereigns, Mb' ali jye wakuye
[539] Lwogera i Kaganza!

"Let it be I ('if I do not speak the truth' being implied here) who tore (King) Lwogera away from Kaganza (name of the place where the king died)!"

[644] The reader must have noted that kings and queen mothers alone have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Mere wives were entitled to no special honors after their death. They were buried like common mortals. Queen mothers, that is to say, those who bore the heir to the throne and then reigned with him, were granted the same funerary honors as sovereigns.

173 Aside from the groves we have just described, there is also
644 mention of one at Bugarama-Ntare (i Bihurura) not far from Rukoma.
766 It is believed to be the spot where the undertakers fulfilled their usual
778 functions at the death of a queen named Nyirakigeri. The sacred grove of Butare, which now only includes a few very old trees, is thought to be the place where Nyagihaga, daughter of Ruyenzi and mother of a Chyilima or Mutara died (1).

1. The official chroniclers do provide a genealogical list of the kings of Ruanda, with the name of their mothers and of the clans to which the latter belonged, but this cannot be fully credited. We have

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seen that the names of the
first kings were pure fantasy.
The chronological order of
several others is lacking,
and the chroniclers do not agree
on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

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a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

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The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

767 trees and green branches. Human conscience can adapt itself to any-
778 thing. The keepers, who get their share, pretend to see nothing.
178 As a result, relatives and friends take full advantage of their tacit permission and make inconspicuous forays into the groves.

b. General honors paid to the spirits of the royal dead.

769 The dead are neither forgotten nor forsaken. Superstitious fear plays its part in the cult of the dead. /532/ The Blacks' fear of the dead recalls them constantly to the remembrance of the living (1). From

> 1. The muzimu retains "the passions, tastes, inclinations, and grudges that characterized it during the material life span of the individual whose existence it perpetuates spiritually after death." (Maurice Delafosse.) To the natives, this belief explains and justifies the cult of spirits.

time to time and in important circumstances, when real or imagined calamities threaten, the drums are beaten in their honor.

Huts (indaro) of varying size are raised on their graves, and sacrifices performed in them to pacify and ingratiate their spirits.

At certain times, young bulls are sent from the capital and immolated by the sacrificers with pomp and solemnity.

The things most readily sent are small earthenware vessels, rounded, rather graceful, (uruherezo, imperezo), filled with banana wine, which the keepers offer as a libation to the dead kings in order to win their support.

[778] Similar sacrifices were, and still are, performed occasionally at the sites of numerous former royal dwellings: at Lwamaraba near the Kabgayi mission, at Mwurire near the Save mission, at Lussagara near Nyaluhengeri, in honor of Lwabugiri, Lwogera, and another Mutara, a son of Ruganzu II, to mention only a few (2). /533/

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2. Many of those former royal residences recall historic events which took place at the site or in the vicinity.

It was at Mwurire that Mutara I, a son of Ruganzu II, vanquished the king of Urundi, a Mutaga, whose lands extended that far at the time.

On Ruchunchu hill, not far from a former residence of Lwabugiri's at Rubugurizo (that is to say, according to the etymological sense of the word, "at the spot where the king's sons played backgammon"), the natives point out the spot where Mibambge-Rutalindwa, Lwabugiri's appointed heir, set fire to himself and his people /relations and friends/ in 1896, in some hastily built huts, when he found himself about to be captured by partisans of the powerful Bega family who had rebelled against him. In the Bumbogo, at places called Mbilima and Matovu, some tall fiscus trees mark the site /533/ of a dwelling formerly occupied by an important chief of the Batsobe clan who had married King Lwabugiri's own mother.

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The latter, having grown up, wanted to wreak vengeance for what he regarded not only as a serious infringement of court custom but also as a crime of high treason.

His warriors surrounded the hill one day.

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

769 [609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

769 766 791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulera juru). /534/

769 [775] c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies. The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 – At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
[775] with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be
578 the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

courtyard at the king's compound, guarded by Batwa. A consecrated elephant tusk is also supposed to be kept there.

During the visit in Nyanza by His Highness the Duke, Musinga climbed into a ngobi at the request of Captain W. Von Grawert. This is the conveyance in which the chiefs are carried on journeys. The king was reluctant to do this, perhaps because he was afraid or because this form of conveyance did not seem to him appropriate to his rank.

While the king is on a journey, his Batwa bearers may get food wherever they wish, for everything is the king's property. That is why Lwabugiri, who was always traveling about, became such a burden to the country. Only the Batwa speak longingly of those days. They accompanied his expeditions, and I often heard them say: "In those days there was a lot of meat. Now Batwa have no standing."

Dr. Hans Meyer says: (1) "...since a sacred tradition forbids

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 347.

him (Musinga) to travel beyond the borders of his central province, he is very limited in his outlook." This statement must be based on a misunderstanding, since the rulers of Ruanda formerly traveled a great deal, and this is spoken of in detail in the legends. In all probability a native told Professor Meyer how much he disliked the troublesome journeys of the king, hoping, perhaps, that by misleading an influential European he might make the king's journeys impossible in the future.

Social Organization. We can distinguish four classes among the population of Ruanda. The privileged class consists of the royal officials. It includes the feudal lords of the king (bagaragu) and their subchiefs with their retinues, as well as the rest of the dignitaries at court. Most of the court officials are also feudal lords; some, however, like the head of the royal smiths, are said to hold no lands.

Among the elect, the highest rank is, of course, held by the family of the king, the Banieginia, and that of the queen mother, the Bega.

There are trees, however, that are associated with remembrance of the dead. These trees were planted either by them or in connection with them, usually in the settlements. Thus, at the birth of a child a fig tree is planted, which is later associated with the person, even after his death. It seems that in these trees, as on the hedges of abandoned settlements, spirits of the dead abide.

Trees are also planted in memory of historical events. Thus, Dr. Kandt (1) says: "At the end of the bridge (cliff bridge of the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 365.

Ruzizi) there is still standing a young fig tree, an immana, a soul tree, which was planted by Luabugiri, the former king of Ruanda, when he set out to fight against Bunjabungu which is on the right bank. There is a steep, almost perpendicular path of a few hundred meters, down which he and his warriors set out to their destruction. On the tree hang straw and metal rings, the offerings of pious wanderers, and on the bridge people point out the footprint of the king's favorite dog in the cliff and tell a legend similar to the one about the Rosstrappe [Tr., a rock in the Harz Mountains]."

With reference to another type of memorial tree which is only indirectly connected with historical personages, Dr. Kandt (2)

2. Ibid., p. 504.

says: "They (trees on the eastern point of the lake) are sacred because King Luabugiri camped on this spot when he set out on his campaign against Bunjabungu (1894), from which he returned to Ruanda a dying man.... The boat that carried the ruler into the war is still lying under the trees, half buried in the ground. It was hollowed out from a giant tree of the primeval forest, but now it is split down the middle, partly rotted, and disintegrating more and more each year. As I remember, it is about 18 meters long and one and a quarter meters wide."

The memorial trees looming up on the heights are very characteristic of the Ruanda landscape. They are conspicuous because they form such a contrast to the bare hilltops. Their

religious character was already known through Captain Hermann, and they are referred to simply as Imana trees.

It seems to be chiefly the Batutsi who venerate the memorial trees. The fig trees on the heights are most numerous and most beautiful in places where the Batutsi have the greatest power. On the other hand, it is said that sometimes at night Bahutu secretly take wood from the sacred trees. The Batwa, who fear no one and who have also preserved their independence in spiritual matters, do [301] this quite openly in the daytime, but there are not enough of them to destroy the trees and change the landscape.

Imana and Batabazi. In our general discussion of the interlacustrine region [not translated], we pointed out that the spirits of dead kings and rulers have a special place among the manes. They are distinguished from the undifferentiated mass of bazimu by their greater power. They are known and feared in larger circles. This is the case, for example, with the spirit of Kimeni in Kissaka. It is not impossible that from this we shall be able to explain the contrast between the rule of Ryangombe in the underworld, which seems to be patterned after the organization of Batutsi states, and the familial anarchy of the ordinary manes. However, it is doubtful whether the central figure of the Ruanda pantheon, the creator of the world, Imana, can be associated with the spirits of the dead. He probably must be considered as derived from foreign influence. Perhaps this also explains the underworld residence of the court of Ryangombe, whereas the rest of the bazimu remain with their living relatives.

Imana is the lord of lightning, thunder, and rain. One addresses him with the words: "Nabone Imana yandemie ikalema tata, na sokokuru, na sokuruza, na mukaka, na mukakuruzu, na mama. Ikankiza, nkuko yabakidjidji! (Favor me, Imana, who created my father, and my grandfather, and the father of my grandfather, and my grandmother, and the mother of my grandmother, and my mother. He has healed me, how he has healed me!)"

No sacrifices are made to Imana. Thus, he plays no part in the cult and satisfies only, if we may so express it, a philosophical need.

776 Even though Imana is supposedly the creator, there are no
773 special tales about his relation to the other powerful spirits, for example, Ryangombe. The Banyaruanda seem to have an altogether vague and indefinite idea of him. The strangest thing is the story of his appearance on earth in the form of a child who was even whiter than kaolin (runoni). The child had supernatural power. Among other things, he changed water into milk. Imana created the first human beings. The first man married his sister, but neither of them had a father or a mother. Imana gave them fire.

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) listed Lugira, Lulema, and

1. Parisch, F.R.Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

Kihanga as synonyms for Imana.

The myths about Imana seem to be less known or kept more secret, at least in Kissaka, than the stories about other spirits.

778 [302] Every Mututsi is said to revere a particularly sacred
825 bull in his herd, which has a secret connection with Imana. The sacred bull of Musinga was allegedly very fierce and attacked many people. It is maintained that those who were attacked by the bull were recognized by the animal as enemies of the king. If they came through alive, they were in former times punished with death. This custom has been given up in the last three or four years, probably as the result of greater contact with Europeans, but the unfortunate ones are still in very bad repute.

778 We must not forget that the vessels containing remnants of chickens and the fat of sacrificed sheep, which the Batutsi wear around their necks, are also called "Imana."

776 Even more puzzling than Imana are the batabazi in the
773 Ruanda pantheon. I have already mentioned them in the chapter on the history of Ruanda. Father L. Classe told me that the myth of the flood as well as the idea of the sacrifice of an individual life to save mankind appear in the batabazi legends. The people survive the flood in a hut made watertight with earth.

794 575 Secret Societies. The cult of Ryangombe is practiced by the secret societies of babandwa. These societies unite men and women, Batutsi and Bahutu.

In Nduga, above all, the secret societies of babandwa embrace a considerable part of the population. There, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, they seem not only to represent well-organized religious groups, but also to play a role in politics.

This is said to be especially true of the Biheko cult, for example. It is blamed for many a disturbance in the northern part of Ruanda. Biheko was apparently a woman consecrated to Binego, the disciple of Ryangombe. She was killed by Lwabugiri who, it seems, in doing this fought the particularistic tendencies of the north. In order to escape the revenge of her spirit, Lwabugiri permitted his subjects to be initiated into the cult she represented. Since that time, the Biheko cult is said to have made great progress in Mulera and Bugoye.

According to Father L. Classe (1) Biheko was a man from

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 440.

Ndorwa whose brothers were Lutindangezi, Gahaya, and Maloli.

[778] In Mulera the iron rods known as ikrosho are connected with the Biheko cult. They were already described in Mpororo by Stuhlmann (2) and associated with the Nyawingi cult.

2. Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika [Into the Heart of Africa with Emin Pasha] (Berlin, 1894), p. 253.

794 575 782 763 The dogma is somewhat as follows. Only those consecrated to Ryangombe may contact him, but it is necessary to establish contact with him. It is only through sacrifices that one can persuade Ryangombe to let the spirits that have been driven out return to the birunga (volcanoes) [306] and free the living from

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in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions [643] that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

[778] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

RELIGION

793 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated
into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest
he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 THE list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

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for instance with a widow, intercourse took place with a brother or a parallel cousin of the deceased husband.

Among the Hutu when the inzu as such possessed fields (*ingobii* or *ubukonde*), as happened particularly in the northern area (Bugoyi, Mulera, Ndorwa), the individual member had a right to a plot (*isambo*). He could not sell such a plot, but could let it (at a rent of about one hoe for two years). If the ancestor has received cows from a lord (*shebuja*), these cows, or rather their offspring, were the property of the inzu which happened to have some pasture land. Among the Tutsi there were usually no land rights vested in the inzu. Tutsi as well as Hutu inzu had no sacred place other than the ancestor's shrine in the *rugo* (enclosure) of the lineage-head and the small huts in the enclosure of each descendant.

From this one may infer that the lineage group at the end of the nineteenth century was not a group with a territorial basis. It is very likely that a territorial lineage group was common among the Hutu and had persisted in the north where Hutu were predominant and where Tutsi occupation had always been scanty and superficial (there were very few Tutsi settlers in that region, apart from administrative chiefs).[9] On the other hand all the activities of the inzu just described implied a rather close co-residence (which is, of course, different from the concept of a territorial basis). These frequent gatherings, blood-feuds, and the rendering of help in difficult circumstances would hardly have been possible if the members of the group had been living in scattered places several days' journey apart. This explains also the crucial importance of the change of residence in the formation of a new inzu. When a branch of an inzu had to leave and settle elsewhere, it was bound to become a new inzu because the former relations with the members of the inzu who did not move could not have been maintained, at least among the Hutu and ordinary Tutsi. This was less important for Tutsi chiefs who were in any case moving about and travelling frequently.

(c) *Social roles within the inzu*

Following the authors of *Toward a General Theory of Action*, social role is understood here as the totality of reciprocal

[9] For an account of the specific structure of the kinship system in the north of Rwanda, the present-day districts (*territoires*) of Kisenyi, Ruhengeri and part of Biumba, see Hertefelt, 1959.

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When the umulyango had a head (chosen in a similar way to the inzu head), he is said to have had the power to give orders to the heads of the component inzu and to draw up general rules for all the umulyango members. I was told, for instance, that the chief of a certain umulyango had ruled that the members should not marry girls of the ubwoko of the Abacyaba. This prohibition about 150 years old is still observed. When the secondary lineage had a head, he fulfilled very much the same function as an 'appeal court' for all decisions taken within the inzu. Such an umulyango organization existed among Hutu and Tutsi, but seems to have been more common in the important Tutsi lineages.

The patriclan (ubwoko) had no head and no collective activities. It was usually agamous, although there may have been an exogamy rule in one particular clan. An animal species was associated with each clan. Its members were not allowed to kill any of them and were even obliged to protect them. The animal was not thought of as a reincarnation of the ancestor's spirit but probably only as a living symbol of the clan.[14]

Unlike the inzu and the umulyango, any ubwoko could have both Tutsi and Hutu among its members. There was no purely Hutu or purely Tutsi patriclan. When asked if this meant that Tutsi and Hutu of the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered that it did not. They explain it by the relationships which have linked Hutu to Tutsi as clients or servants. After some time the Hutu were identified with the group of their master. Such identification was particularly easy since Tutsi frequently emigrated from one region of Ruanda to another with their Hutu clients and servants. Some Hutu told me that as Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa (mythical figures who, as their names indicate, were supposed to be ancestors of the three groups) were brothers, it is not impossible that Tutsi and Hutu of one clan could have had the same ancestor. At all events clansmen who were of different socio-'racial' groups did not exhibit any solidarity at all and behaved towards each other as complete strangers.

As has been said, Ego's wife belonged to her own patrilineage for ever. This is why the social role of Ego's wife has not been mentioned in this section. But as she took part in many of the

[14] Some examples of the totemic animals of patriclans are: Abazigaba, the leopard (*ingwe*), Abasinga, the hawk (*sekabaka*), Abega, the frog (*igiholi*), Abagesera, the wagtail (*nyamazana*), Abacyaba, the hyena (*impyisi*).

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conditions it was evidently impossible to socialize and to educate together all the children of the same polygynous family.

The father had very considerable authority to punish during the period of the educational processes, and could even go as far as to curse and disinherit his sons. He could not use such drastic punishments for daughters except in the case of a pregnancy of an unmarried one. Then she could be killed, but mainly because such an event was regarded as being unlucky for the whole lineage. This case has to be interpreted in connexion with those others in which the father could condemn a daughter to death for fear of her conveying ill-luck: these were should her breasts not develop or should she have no periods. The father could appeal to the inzu head when he was unable to discipline his children and the married children could appeal to him when they had been punished by sanctions they found too heavy.

(e) *Ritual function*

The inzu ancestor was honoured mainly in the compound of the patrilineage head. A small hut was devoted to him and on certain occasions all his descendants met to make offerings to him. Some of these occasions were fixed, others were decided only after consulting a diviner.

In each compound there was also a small hut dedicated to the spirits of the dead, where the ancestor of the patrilineage was honoured. The wife could not build there a hut for her own ancestors. Nearer forbears were honoured in the compound more than the inzu's ancestors: the husband's grandfather or great-grandfather. The husband introduced his wife to him saying: 'Here is the woman I have taken in order to beget children for you, to multiply your lineage.' The bull used for stud purposes was also presented to the great-grandfather's spirit. Not only forbears but other dead members of the patrilineage or the family were honoured, but less often.

Almost every day small offerings were made. A few drops of milk or of beer, or some beans or peas were thrown into the hut. Or a girl spent some time in the ancestor's hut to enable him to enjoy a woman. But sometimes the spirits required more.

We have mentioned earlier that they were often angry and could send illnesses, sterility, cattle-epidemics, and death. They were regarded as beneficial only in a negative way, i.e. when they did